

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 NSCE-00 ( ADP ) W

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R 180512Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3108

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T TEHRAN 5011

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO DR. KISSINGER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IR, SU

SUBJECT: SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S AUDIENCE WITH SHAH

1. ON JULY 17 FOREIGN MINISTER KHALATBARI, AT INSTRUCTION OF SHAH, INFORMED ME OF AUDIENCE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD HAD WITH SHAH THAT MORNING.
2. SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD REQUESTED AUDIENCE ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN TO RAISE TWO ISSUES: (1) SOVIET CONCERN OVER ARMS PURCHASES PRINCIPALLY BY IRAN BUT ALSO BY KUWAIT AND SAUDI ARABIA AND (2) THE RESURGENCE OF CENTO AS ACTIVE MILITARY ALLIANCE.
3. IN REPLYING ON ITEM (1) IN PARA 2 ABOVE, THE SHAH REACTED STRONGLY. HE INFORMED THE AMBASSADOR THAT WHATEVER HE MIGHT HAVE READ ABOUT IRANIAN ARMS PURCHASES WAS NOT ACCURATE. IRAN INTENDED TO BUY QUOTE MUCH MORE UNQUOTE THAN THE SOVIETS KNEW. HE THEN CHIDED THE AMBASSADOR FOR PRESUMING TO RAISE SUCH AN ISSUE WITH A SOVEREIGN STATE. HE LAID IT ON THE LINE ABOUT SOVIET MILITARY AID TO SYRIA AND IRAQ, POINTED OUT THE SIZE OF THE INDIAN ARMY SUPPORTED BY SOVIET WEAPONRY, AND ASKED THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR POINTBLANK WHAT RIGHT HE HAD TO TALK ABOUT MILITARY BUILDUP AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF WHAT THE SOVIETS

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WERE DOING IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. THE SHAH AT THIS POINT

TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT IRAN AND RUSSIA COULD ONLY DEAL ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY AND ON RECOGNITION OF EQUAL RIGHTS. HE FINISHED THIS PART OF HIS LECTURE BY INQUIRING AS TO WHY KOSYGIN WAS RAISING THE ISSUE OF ARMS PRUCHASES NOW WHEN HE (THE SHAH) HAD INFORMED HIM DURING HIS MARCH VISIT OF WHAT HE INTENDED TO DO. (IT IS THE SHAH'S OPINION THAT THE RUSSIANS THINK THEY CAN BLACKMAIL IRAN AT THIS JUNCTURE BY CAPITALIZING ON BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE IMPLICATION THAT SOME UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED WITH THE PRESIDENT.)

4. AS FOR POINT (2) IN PARA 2 ABOVE, THE SHAH POINTED OUT TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT A STRONG IRAN, TURKEY, AND PAKISTAN CONSTITUTED A STABILIZING FACTOR TO THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA AND WOULD BE A BULWARK AGAINST ADVENTURISM IN THE AREA. HE PLAYED THIS SCENARIO IN SUCH A WAY AS TO LEAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT CENTO WAS REALLY INSURANCE AGAINST CHINESE INTRUSION INTO THIS PART OF THE WORLD, ALTHOUGH CHINA WAS NOT RPT NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. HE UNDERLINED THAT A "STRONG IRAN" WOULD BE "A WISE IRAN" AND WOULD MAKE PROBLEMS FOR NO ONE INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.

5. WHEN HE HAD FINISHED HIS RECITAL TO ME, KHALATBARI COMMENTED, QUOTE THE SHAH WAS TOUGH, AND AS HE PROCEEDED, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S FACE GOT LONGER AND LONGER. HE WAS LEFT UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE SH'S DISPLEASURE OVER HIS DEMARCHE UNQUOTE.  
HELMS

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NNN

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